

NARRATIVE IN ARMY VALUES TRAINING

By

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To Robin, John and Matt.  
You have shared in the writing of my story,  
the values of my life

## CHAPTER 1

## NARRATIVE, ETHICS AND IDENTITY

Our lives, and therefore our identities, are composed of the intertwining narratives that existed prior to our birth, linking us as individuals to our communities.

The key question for men is not about their own authorship; I can only answer the question "What am I to do?" if I can answer the prior question "Of what story or stories do I find myself a part?" We enter human society, that is, with one or more imputed characters - roles into which we have been drafted - and we have to learn what they are in order to be able to understand how others respond to us and how our responses to them are apt to be construed.<sup>1</sup>

Story is also used to shape character and mold social action on a larger scale. Examples include Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin in the struggle for the abolition of slavery. In another context, one finds the power of story in the growing polarization of the national identities of the Bantu peoples of Africa, stories re-interpreted and institutionalized by European colonizers in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. These stories ultimately led to

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<sup>1</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, "The Virtues, the Unity of a Human Life, and the Concept of a Tradition" in Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology, Hauerwas, Stanley and Jones. L. Gregory, editors. (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1987), 101.

the 1994 Rwanda genocide and Hutu massacres of an estimated 800,000 Tutsis.<sup>2</sup>

Our identities, character traits that we value, and virtues are formed by the power of story. Sadly, most persons are not aware of the influence of the stories that have formed their character, values and worldview, so they live "unexamined lives." We do not have the ability to self-autonomously reject or escape the stories that are part of who we are. The power of some stories may be increased, diminished or modified but never eradicated.<sup>3</sup>

Clarity is not just the rational ability to identify the streams of those stories and their power; rather clarity is also having a true story, one that provides the proper lens to interpret the other informing narratives of our lives. It is only in the Christian story that one finds a true narrative. This narrative is a gift of God, one that must be received by faith in the Gospel of Jesus

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<sup>2</sup> Mahmoud Mamdani argues that the history of the native communities, reinterpreted by the colonial powers, created polarized identities within the political struggle during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This national acceptance of the myth resulted in conflict and ultimately in the 1994 genocide. See Mahmoud Mamdani. When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and Genocide in Rwanda. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 59.

<sup>3</sup> MacIntyre has stated, "The story of my life is always embedded in the story of those communities from which I derive my identity. I am born with a past; and to try to cut myself off from the past, in the individualist mode, is to deform my present relationships ... The self has to find its moral identity in and through its membership in communities but it does not entail that the self has to accept the moral limitations of the particularity of those forms of community." Ibid, 106.

Christ. This narrative provides for the rightly-shaped transformation through the "renewing of the mind" (Romans 12:2). The biblical account clearly indicates that this transformation and renewal is not a purely individual activity, but one that can only exist rightly and fully within the Christian faith community - the church. Each person's humanity does not consist solely in one sphere and one story, however desirable that might be to some.

Narratives and stories are powerful in their ability to influence behavior at many levels, including societal or communal identity; hence ethics, character and values. In The Republic, Plato argues the necessity of censorship of the ancient stories of the Greek gods in order to form the appropriate societal values and virtues in the Athenian youth:

We must begin, then, it seems, by a censorship over our storymakers, and what they do well we must pass and what not reject. And the stories on the accepted list we will induce nurses and mothers to tell to the children and so shape their souls by these stories far rather than their bodies by their hands.<sup>4</sup>

Plato states the purpose of such editing is in order that "the first stories that they hear should be so composed as to bring the fairest lesson of virtue to their

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<sup>4</sup> Plato. Republic, Books 1-5, translated by Paul Shorey in the Loeb Classical Library. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930, reprint 1999), 177.



ears."<sup>5</sup> Therefore, he asserts, a significant part of the shaping of one's values and identities is by means of story.

Within American culture, two examples of such stories support this statement. The legend of George Washington's childhood confession upon chopping down a family cherry tree is used to affirm the virtuous character of the first American president. As the "father of our country," the power of the story implies that part of the essential nature of being a "real" or "true" American" is to be one who "cannot tell a lie," and by extension that Americans are a truth-telling people. Second, Nathan Hale's alleged last words "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country," implies that there is no nobler act of the citizen than to sacrifice one's life for the nation.

In What is Ethics All About?, Herbert McCabe wrote, "meanings, then, belong first of all to the language, to the community who live by this language; the individual learns these meanings, acquires these concepts, by entering into the language, the culture, or history of his community."<sup>6</sup> This is especially true when one enters another "community," particularly a community that is a

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 183.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert McCabe. What Is Ethics All About? (Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1969), 87.

minority or on the margins of society, whether it be religious, ethnic, racial, economic or professional. To become a member, a citizen of that community, one must learn the language through the stories of that community.

The United States Army is a community composed of 1,262,000 currently active members, representing less than 0.5% of the population.<sup>7</sup> In that sense, it is a minority community that exists on the margins of American society. However, the community as a whole is much larger; dependents of current active members, retired members and all those who have served, are part of the greater community, history and tradition. Military ethics, its virtues and values, are derived and sustained from its histories and traditions. Whether in the formal tomes of military libraries or spoken among old, grizzled veterans at the American Legion or Veterans of Foreign Wars halls, stories of courage, honor, valor, sacrifice, and victory are recounted in order to remember and to inspire, for "history is an enacted dramatic narrative in which the characters are also the authors."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> FY 2002 statistics, there are 482,000 active duty soldiers, 558,000 reservists and National Guardsmen and women, and 222,000 direct-hire civilians in support roles. "Situation Report," Soldiers, (Ft. Belvoir, VA), January 2002. The 2000 U.S. Census report reported 281,421,906 citizens.

<sup>8</sup> MacIntyre, 100.

Due in large part to the Vietnam War, and since the withdrawal of U.S. troops, all branches of the U.S. military have seen the necessity of training its members in ethics and values, in addition to tactical battlefield skills. The military is that one community, specified in the founding documents, committed to "protect and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic." Its existence is teleologically defined by its larger community.

Army training comprises training in specific skills. One cannot master the essential soldier skills without practice. A casual reading of the training manuals or studying the regulations will not guarantee survival or mission accomplishment for the soldier. A soldier can only learn his skills by doing. In a sense, a soldier's reactions in combat must become habit and fully integrated with similar actions of all those around him. Soldiers are trained to respond appropriately while under the stresses of combat, where life and death decisions become near automatic reflexes.

The Army is currently following an educational paradigm that is Aristotelian in concept, one that focuses on character. Military ethicist Bradley Watson wrote,

For Aristotle, the good of the community is higher and more noble than the good of the individual ... this notion is essential to any military ethic ... a proper military ethic is essentially premodern and is bound to encounter difficulties as it tries to make peace with the modern liberal state.<sup>9</sup>

Learning the professional Army ethic, or Army values, is about learning the Army's language and that requires a community. In Resident Aliens, Hauerwas and Willimon wrote,

Learning to be moral is much like learning to speak a language... You learn to speak by being initiated into a community of language, by observing your elders, by imitating them. The rules of grammar come later, if at all, as a way of enabling you to nourish and sustain the art of speaking well. Ethics, as an academic discipline, is simply the task of assembling reminders that enable us to remember how to speak and to live the language.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, learning the "Army ethic" (or the more current term, "the 7 Army values,") is about being in a community, learning its language through its stories and traditions, its heroes, symbols and rituals.

The Army's ethical training is formal, that is, focused on learning principles, i.e., the grammar. More importantly, it is also about doing - learning to live and

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<sup>9</sup> Bradley Watson. "The Western Ethical Tradition and the Morality of the Warrior." (Armed Forces and Society, 26:1, Fall, 1999), 57.

<sup>10</sup> Hauerwas and Willimon write in the specific context of Christian ethics and the necessity of the Christian Church. However, the principle of language and ethics would stand in regard to the military community. See Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon. (Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989), 97.

if necessary, to die for the right cause, in the right way, at the right time, to paraphrase Aristotle. If, as Hauerwas states, "virtues are narrative-dependent,"<sup>11</sup> one must look at which military stories are the foundation for the history and the community's self-identity and how they are used to train today's Army.

Narrative not only provides a context for ethics, it can also inspire to greatness and imitation. In The Lord of the Rings, The Two Towers, through the words of his hobbits, Frodo and Sam, J. R. R. Tolkien informs us of this descriptive and creative power of narrative.

The brave things in the old tales and songs, Mr. Frodo: adventures, as I used to call them. I used to think that they were things the wonderful folk of the stories went out and look for, because they wanted them, because they were exciting and life was a bit dull ... But that's not the way of it with the tales that really matter, or the ones that stay in the mind. Folk seem to have been just landed in them, usually - their paths were laid that way, as you put it ... Still, I wonder if we shall ever be put into songs or tales. We're in one, of course; but I mean: put into words, you know, told by the fireside, or read out of a great big book with red and black letters, years and years afterward. And people will say: "Let's hear about Frodo and the Ring!" And they'll say: "Yes, that's one of my favourite stories. Frodo was very brave, wasn't he dad?" "Yes, my boy, the famousest of the hobbits, and that's saying a lot."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Stanley Hauerwas. The Hauerwas Reader. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 235.

<sup>12</sup> J. R. R. Tolkien. The Lord of the Rings. (London: Harper Collins Publishers, reprint 1994), 697.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the history of ethics and values in the U.S. Army since its post-Vietnam experience. But more importantly, to identify the narratives that have been officially incorporated into the formal military values educational materials in order to determine if they are sufficient to prepare those in military service to meet the challenges of not only military life and the operational situations of the 21<sup>st</sup> century but their personal and community lives as well.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE STORY OF ARMY VALUES

#### History from Vietnam to Present

The teaching, or rather the formal inculcation of "military ethics" and "values" is not a recent phenomenon. In 1948, the United States Army instituted a program to teach values. This ethical training was known as the "Character Development Program" and was usually relegated to briefings and classes by military chaplains, officers whose additional responsibilities beyond ecclesiastical functions included teaching "morals" as affected by religion.<sup>13</sup> By Army regulation, the responsibility for all training resides with the unit commander, but the implementation of formal ethics education and training is usually relegated to the unit chaplain. To assist in the program, the Army chaplaincy developed a rigid curriculum implemented by means of formal lectures for platoon or company-size units (generally 40-120 soldiers).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The "Character Guidance Program" was first initiated as part of mandatory training in 1948. The regulation guiding all chaplain activities is AR 165-1, *Chaplain Activities in the United States Army*.

<sup>14</sup> Department of the Army, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel (ODCSPER) tasked the Army chaplaincy to develop the

However, the Vietnam War and in particular, the "My Lai Massacre" became the watershed events for the Army, forcing the military community to begin a period of introspection and eventually an institutional revision of its ethical education programs. Hence, it is important to review the topics and values discussed in the pre-My Lai era.

DA PAM 16-3, fielded in June 1962, provides a glimpse of the pre-Vietnam values education program. The pamphlet was subtitled *Character Guidance Discussion Topics: Duty, Honor, Country*, indicating a consistency of the ethical education across the Army. This phrase is also the official motto of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, which prior to Vietnam, served as the primary place of post-secondary education for the majority of career officers. One of the Army's most famous speeches was given at the military academy in May 1962 by General Douglas A. MacArthur entitled "Duty, Honor, Country."<sup>15</sup> General MacArthur's role in military history is unrivaled and his eloquence was legendary. To this day, his speech remains a part of the mandatory education of all officers, at West Point and in the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) at over 270 public and private universities. The

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curriculum. See DA PAM 16-3 and later DA PAM 16-5, *Character Guidance Discussion Topics: Duty, Honor, Country*.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix A.



West Point motto, "Duty, Honor, Country" also served as the Army's unofficial motto prior to the 1980s. But during the 1970s, many began to view the motto as insufficient in the ethical formation of soldiers due to its lack of specific historical context.<sup>16</sup>

DA PAM 16-3 (June 1962) established six ethical themes (not necessarily values) for the purpose of instructing common concepts relating to character. Those ethical themes were: "Esprit, Self-Discipline, Marriage, Charity, Moderation, and Opportunity." The material was designed to a lecture for every young person who entered military service at that time, enlistee or draftee.<sup>17</sup> Part of the transition process from civilian to soldier necessitated transforming diverse individuals into a military community, one that shared a common history, language and rites. DA PAM 16-3 provided the military community a consistent

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<sup>16</sup> James Toner cites historian Barbara Tuchman's indictment of the limitations of this motto, "the simple West Point answer is that Duty and Honor consist in carrying out the orders of the government. That is what the Nazis said in their defense, and we tried them for war crimes nevertheless." See James H. Toner. True Faith and Allegiance: The Burden of Military Ethics. (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1998), 57.

<sup>17</sup> DA PAM 16-3. *Character Guidance Discussion Topics: Duty, Honor, Country*, (Washington, D.C., Headquarters, Department of the Army, June, 1962), 2. According to the pamphlet, the Armed Services was the single largest educational institution for American youth, primarily males. They estimated in 1963 that 75% of the male population between the ages of 20-30 may be in or were part of the Armed Services, with the Army having the greatest percentage of those serving in the military. In 1962, the majority of enlisted soldiers were draftees. All of today's soldiers are volunteers.

historical narrative of values for the recruits and young soldiers.

DA PAM 16-3 provided a detailed teaching outline and included historical examples and illustrations for each of the themes. The intent of the document was to provide consistent and uniform training across the Army at its dozens of installations, establishing in typical military fashion even the amount of time for each module's instruction.

"Esprit" was defined as "man's personal morale plus the enthusiastic loyalty he has to the members of his unit or group, the soldier's new community." According to the outline, esprit has two elements: one is personal, the other is social; i.e., it involves others."<sup>18</sup> Rather than maintain the American ideal of individualism, a soldier's identity must be tied to his community. Loyalty is the only value from this time period will remain as a constant in each evolution of the Army's "Values" program. The 1962 curriculum on "Esprit" included the stories of the development and symbolism of the United States flag, Nathan Hale's speech prior to his execution,<sup>19</sup> General Van Steuben

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>19</sup> Hale's famous last words "I regret that I have but one life to lose for my country" were pronounced on September 22, 1776 at Harlem Heights, New York. Hale was captured and executed by the British. Just prior to his hanging, Hale paraphrased the words from British poet

and the training and suffering of the ragtag Army at Valley Forge, and General Washington's command directive to publish a newspaper for soldiers (the New Jersey Journal began publication on 16 Feb 1779).<sup>20</sup>

The Army linked "esprit" to "loyalty" and by extension to "enthusiasm" (manifested in the mandatory "Hoo-ah" grunt required of all soldiers). The teaching material included the Greek etymology of "enthusiasm" - "en-theos" to "in God," linking the ancient concept of the Greek warriors as beneficiaries of divine empowerment.<sup>21</sup>

The last block of instruction included references to the necessity of learning the significance of each soldier's assigned unit's history and the background of the unit patch, colors and citations, and regimental or brigade crests. This practice continues today. From the moment basic trainees are assigned to the training battalions, they will learn the unit's history, symbols, heroes and key battles. It is reinforced throughout a soldier's career. A soldier seeking advancement must go before a "promotion board," where he or she is expected to know those histories and symbols that relate to the soldier's larger parent

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and essayist Joseph Addison's only play (1713) titled "Cato," about a Roman patriot. The play was written in England and later became popular among the American colonists.

<sup>20</sup> DA PAM 16-3, (June 1962), 4-10.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 15.

unit, usually a brigade or division as well as to his or her assigned battalion, linking today's soldier to the larger history and community - the ARMY.

The 1962 ethical training included "Marriage" as a key theme - in an army that was at that time in mostly composed of singles. The homogenous nature of American society and the role of religion within society are assumed in the training text. The 1962 curriculum was the last document that officially endorsed marriage as a "divine institution," which according to the training text, was intended by God as that relationship in which a man and woman can find the greatest "measure of happiness possible on earth."<sup>22</sup>

The fourth ethical theme was "charity." Later post-Vietnam changes in the values program will shift "charity" to "respect" and "selfless service." The DA pamphlet stated:

Charity is ... the motive, or the reason, why we do the generous, good things that we do. Charity actually is the love by which all men are related, the deeds and gifts of charity merely express the compassion we have for one another. The obligation of charity - we are commanded by the God who made us to love one another, as a matter of fact He said if we do we keep the

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 51. According to the Army's religious demographics in 1962, the majority of Army soldiers were self-described as Christian. It is interesting that in a character curriculum prepared by the U.S. Army Chaplaincy, the church is not offered as the one true community in which happiness may be discovered as a divine gift and where true character may be developed.

Commandments - is binding not only on individuals, but on the society which individuals comprise ... charity is not only a proper characteristic of Americans as individuals, but is rightly a mark of America as a nation.

It has been said that sacrifice is the basis and root of the long and noble tradition of the soldier. Charity provides the reason for sacrifice and is not only exemplified in the life of a soldier but most properly belongs to him. A soldier without charity - love of country and his fellow man - is quite as ready a contradiction as to say you can have a soldier without courage.<sup>23</sup>

The training text contextualized charity as a uniquely national American virtue.

The supporting stories for the military virtue of charity included the expectation for soldiers to volunteer in organizations such as the "March of Dimes" or "Big Brothers, Big Sisters." Contextualizing narratives included linked the "Duty, Honor, Country" motto, General MacArthur implied that it is love's duty to honor one's country.<sup>24</sup> Historical examples of charity included a fundraising effort of over \$7,000 by units in post-World War II Germany to care for refugees, and the altruistic spirit of soldiers in Korea to care for over 800 orphans of that war.<sup>25</sup> The training text concluded with the following Christian admonition, "God requires of all men that we love one another even as He has loved us ... Strange as it may

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 61.

sound to you at first, even uncharitable thoughts are considered wrong in the eyes of God."<sup>26</sup>

The 1962 document reflected an American society that had not yet experienced the turbulent 1960s, to include the implications of the landmark 1962 United States Supreme Court ruling *Engel v. Vitale* and 1963 ruling *Murray v. Curlett*, eliminating prayer and some religious language in public schools during the critical church and state debates of the early 1960s. One finds the impact of these decisions in the next version of the Army's "Character Guidance Training" document.

In June, 1968, the Army published its revised character guidance curriculum, DA PAM 16-5, reducing the number of ethical themes or "character values" to four: (1) Honor and the Soldier, (2) Authority and the Soldier, (3) A Sense of Duty, and (4) Marriage and the Soldier. The themes of self-discipline, charity, moderation, and opportunity disappeared. The training's stated purpose was to ...

instill into all the members of the Army a sense of individual moral responsibility. This purpose can be achieved in the last analysis only by acceptance of, and emphasis upon, the moral principles that sustain the philosophy of American freedom, particularly as it is set forth in the opening paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. That philosophy regards

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 65.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 65.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 68. By referring to God, there is an implicit recognition of a supreme being with higher authority to which soldiers are subject.

every man as a creature of God and holds that every soldier is responsible and accountable to his Creator for the way he performs his civic and military duty, for the maintaining of his own and his nation's honor, and for the quality of service he renders to his country as a soldier.<sup>27</sup>

The full text of MacArthur's 1962 "Duty, Honor, Country" speech was included in the pamphlet, since it remained the key motto for military ethics and values. This DA Pamphlet was released three months after the My Lai massacre in 1968. DA PAM 16-5 (1968) included some of the same themes of the 1962 document, explicit references to the Declaration of Independence, the courage of America's founding fathers in signing the Declaration and mutually pledging their sacred honor, references to the symbolism of the United States flag, and to the Great Seal of the United States.

Narratives of the values focused on the virtue of "duty" and included the stories of World War II veterans LTC Jack Treadwell and 2LT Audie Murphy in combat, as well as the biographic summary of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who personified for more than forty years the ideal of "selfless service" to the nation both as a military officer and later as President and commander-in-chief. The other narrative referred to is the "heroic" story of a medic

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<sup>27</sup> DA PAM 16-5 *Character Guidance Discussion Topics: Duty, Honor,*

during the battle for Okinawa, PFC Desmond Doss of the 307<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, who cared for wounded soldiers in his unit during the invasion.<sup>28</sup>

Just as the Army was in the midst of fielding its new ethical curriculum and character guidance-training packet, the event that would shape military ethics training was taking place on the occasion of a company-sized combat action in Song My province, Republic of Vietnam.<sup>29</sup> The incident that transformed the discussion of ethics and affected all senior leaders for the rest of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the massacre of 175-400 Vietnamese civilians by American soldiers assigned to Task Force Barker at Song My, a small village now known simply as My Lai.

My Lai would not occupy the Army's and the nation's conscience for almost another year. A former soldier named Ron Ridenour, had learned of the massacre from PFC Butch Gruver, an infantryman who had participated in the massacre, while they were both at a replacement unit in April 1968. Ridenour mailed a letter dated 29 March 1969 to the Secretary of Defense. The letter would trigger an

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*Country*, (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, June, 1968), v.

<sup>28</sup> DA PAM 16-5, June 1968, 30-33.

<sup>29</sup> Chaplain (COL) John Brinsfield, ret. Interview by author, 6 January 2003, Ft. Jackson, SC, personal notes, Durham, NC. Rev. Dr. Brinsfield is now professor of History, United States Army Chaplain Center and School, Ft. Jackson, SC.



internal investigation resulting in the Peers Inquiry in 1970 and the public revelation of the American war crime in spring 1970, two years after the events.<sup>30</sup>

The events of May 16-18, 1968 are well documented.<sup>31</sup> The Peers Inquiry identified the moral and ethical failures of leaders at My Lai during the massacre and the 23<sup>rd</sup> Division commanders' cover-up. It officially assimilated this tragic event into the Army's historical and ethical narratives. Yet even while the massacre was taking place, there were virtuous actions by a few members of the Army, stories that the Army has had a difficult time remembering.<sup>32</sup> Much to the Army's credit, both the crimes

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<sup>30</sup> LTG William R. Peers. *Report of the Department of the Army Review of the Preliminary Investigations into the My Lai Incident, vol. 1, The Report of the Investigation*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 14 March 1970), 4. An excerpt from Ron Ridenour's letter is included in Appendix B.

<sup>31</sup> The official report about My Lai, known as the Peers Inquiry, after LTG William R. Peers, was initiated on 26 November 1969 at the direction of GEN William Westmoreland, Chief of Staff of the Army, almost 18 months after the incident. See LTG William R. Peers. Report of the Department of the Army Review of the Preliminary Investigations into the My Lai Incident, vol. 1, The Report of the Investigation, (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 14 March 1970).

<sup>32</sup> Michael Walzer describes the acts of some soldiers who refused orders to participate in the massacre, and of one soldier who shot himself in the foot in order to be airlifted for medical care (see Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust War*, New York: Basic Books, reprint 2000), 310. But the most courageous story of the day was of WO1 Hugh Thompson who was flying combat air support in a UH-1 Huey helicopter the day the massacres began. He observed American soldiers killing civilians indiscriminately in the village. Thompson and his two-man crew accomplished three major interventions that day. First, he landed the helicopter to rescue a group of civilians from a small team of U.S. soldiers. Prior to exiting his helicopter on the outskirts of the village, Thompson ordered his M-60 door gunner to be ready to fire on American soldiers who attempted to stop him from rescuing the

and the all too few attempts of virtuous actions from My Lai have been retained in part in the Army's formal ethical and values education process. According to Chaplain Brinsfield, My Lai served as the pivotal point of the almost twelve-year American experience in Vietnam. It also served as the critical event for all future discussions and policies regarding ethics.<sup>33</sup> Besides recommending disciplinary action for many of the participants in the massacre, especially those in command, the Peers Inquiry highlighted the need to initiate a serious review of ethics and ethical education among officers.

The Army's ethical review process began during a time when not only was America's involvement in the Vietnam War questioned, but government ethics (the Watergate scandal) captivated and polarized America. Brinsfield cites three other factors as contributory to the Army's ethics

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civilians. Thompson took that group and air evacuated them to a safe distance from the village. During another overflight, another crewman SP4 Andreozza, noticed movement in a pile of massacred civilians. Thompson landed the helicopter again and Andreozza went and found the body of a three-year old boy, who was still alive. The crew flew the child to a U.S. medical facility for treatment. Finally, upon completion of his missions that day, Thompson went to his commander and reported what he had witnessed. Through bureaucratic failures, the message reportedly never made it to the senior commanders of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division (Americal), the parent division to Task Force Barker. Part of Thompson's actions have been formally incorporated into the Army's values training, but it is time to include the entire story. See James H. Toner. Morals Under the Gun: The Cardinal Virtues, Military Ethics, and American Society. (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 122.

discussion. First, the 1969 court ruled against mandatory chapel attendance at the U.S. Naval Academy (and indirectly all military academies). Second, the draft was eliminated in favor of an all-volunteer military in 1974. Third, the Army ended gender segregation when the Women's Army Corps (WAC) was decommissioned and women were fully integrated in the regular Army.<sup>34</sup>

The effect of My Lai and the Peers Inquiry had its first ramifications as early as 1971. For the first time, a chaplain, Chaplain (LTC) Joseph Beasley was appointed to a faculty chair in the history department at West Point in order to teach "History of Western Ethics." In 1975, Chaplain Beasley was also tasked by the Army's Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) to write and develop an ethics curriculum for all newly commissioned officers during their Officer Basic Courses (OBC), a practice maintained at all Army schools to the present.<sup>35</sup> Upon Beasley's retirement in 1980, Chaplain (MAJ) John Brinsfield (a United Methodist chaplain) was appointed to fill the chair from 1981-1984.

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<sup>33</sup> John W. Brinsfield. "Army Values and Ethics: A Search for Consistency and Relevance." *Parameters*, (U.S. Army War College Quarterly, vol. xxviii, no. 3, Autumn 1998), 71.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 73.

<sup>35</sup> Brinsfield interview on January 6, 2003. After Chaplain Brinsfield completed his tour in 1984, the position was filled by a non-chaplain, Dr. Tim Callans, a professing agnostic who had helped draft FM 22-100 *Military Leadership* (October 1983) with the goal of purging any spiritual or even religious historical aspects or religious references to ethics.

The Army directed no less than three studies on professionalism and ethics from 1970-1972 and continued the process for nine more years. A 1977 study by LTC Melville A. Drisko, Jr. titled "An Analysis of Professional Military Ethics: Their Importance, Development and Inculcation," based on a survey of 2,125 officers asserted that the motto "Duty, Honor, Country" alone was not effective in promoting ethical behavior among officers.<sup>36</sup>

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the entire Department of Defense was active in reviewing and establishing ethics and values programs. In 1979, Air Force Colonel Malham Wakin, professor of Philosophy and Fine Arts at the U.S. Air Force Academy, published the book War, Morality and the Military Profession and established the Joint Service Conference on Professional Ethics. In 1981, West Point superintendent Lieutenant General Andrew Goodpaster inaugurated a mandatory core course in ethics for all cadets.<sup>37</sup>

In the early 1980s, Army-wide implementation of a fully developed ethics and values program began under General John A. Wickham, Jr. with the first revision and distribution of Field Manual 22-100 *Military Leadership*

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<sup>36</sup> Toner, 57.

<sup>37</sup> John W. Brinsfield. "Army Values and Ethics: A Search for Consistency and Relevance," 73.

(October 1983) since the Vietnam War.<sup>38</sup> In 1985, General Wickham started an all-out assault on all members of the Army, including civilian support personnel. First, he redefined the military as a profession of arms, thus necessitating a professional code and from his perspective, a professional ethic. His first document, dated March 1, 1985, was *Guideposts for a Proud and Ready Army*. General Wickham, a religious and devout officer, viewed his role as Chief of Staff of the Army as that of a "steward" of national resources, especially its people. He reflected on his personal experience at the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the June 6, 1944 D-Day landings in Normandy and utilized the narrative symbolism as a reminder.

Time and tide can wash away personal opportunities to expand our horizons and cause us to compromise our personal as well as professional values, thereby eroding our ethical moorings. We need to guard against this. The ceremonies at Normandy remind us of the sacrifices made 40 years ago. Those sacrifices, made by the soldiers of an earlier generation, underscore the moral and ethical roots of Army service. Our profession involves deep moral values because we are dealing with matters of life and death ... our service must rest upon a solid ethical base.<sup>39</sup>

General Wickham understood the limitations of formal classroom ethical education, often quoting the adage,

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 72. FM 22-100's chapter 4 "Professional Beliefs, Values and Ethics" and chapter 5 "The Character of a Leader" represented 60 pages or 20 percent of the entire FM. The dominant narratives of FM 22-100 are highlighted later in this paper.

"ethics and values are more 'caught' than 'taught.'" He established an institutional goal to ...

maintain and improve the ethical climate in which we operate ... in the rush of day-to-day activities, that our profession deals with the more profound moral issues, and that the strength of character, in our personal and professional lives, which we and our country seek in time of war must be fostered in times of peace. A man of character in peace is a man of courage in war. As Aristotle taught - character is a habit, the daily choice of right over wrong ... the success or failure of national policy may rest in the hands of "soldiers of character, activated by principles of honor."<sup>40</sup>

General Wickham and Secretary of the Army John O. Marsh, Jr. established educational themes each year. They declared fiscal year 1986 the "Year of Values." General Wickham mandated several major projects. First, he required the Total Army (all Active, Reserve, and National Guard soldiers and all DA civilians) to view a one-hour video that he narrated. The video included the new core values from FM 22-100 (October 1983): loyalty to the ideals of the nation, loyalty to the unit, personal responsibility, and selfless service. In the video, Wickham referred particularly to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights as the foundation for American military values. The video

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<sup>39</sup> General John A. Wickham, Jr. *Guideposts for a Proud and Ready Army*. (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1 March 1985), 1-2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 3,4.

included interviews with members of the Total Army in order to make the theme relevant to each section.

In June 1986, he published a white paper, titled *The Bedrock of Our Profession* and distributed it to all members of the Army.<sup>41</sup> In the forward, General Wickham stated,

Every member of the Army team must understand and be committed to the professional Army ethic and demonstrate that commitment in his or her actions. Only with complete involvement and unqualified support for the Total Army will we have an Army that meets our obligation to support and defend the Constitution of the United States.<sup>42</sup>

General Wickham recognized the need for a community of "friends," in this case "soldiers," to develop and maintain an ethical tradition and history. For the general, the dominant story for the military's ethic remained the U.S. Constitution. This "Bedrock of Our Profession" represented a shift in the direction of virtue ethics and character development in an Aristotelian sense, defined and placed in an American context. General Wickham wrote,

Values are what we, as a profession, judge to be right. They are more than words - they are the moral, ethical, and professional attributes of character. Our character is what enables us to withstand the rigors of combat or the challenges of daily life that might tempt us to compromise our principles such as integrity, loyalty, or selflessness. Ultimately, strengthening the values that make up our character

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<sup>41</sup> Chaplain (COL) Janet Horton, interview by author, 7 February 2003, E-mail correspondence, Durham, NC.

<sup>42</sup> DA PAM 600-68 *The Bedrock of Our Profession*. White Paper, 1986. (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, June 1986), foreword.

enables us to strengthen our inner self, strengthen our bonding to others, and strengthen our commitment to a higher calling.

We need a rock-solid ethical base because those who make moral decisions about right and wrong must themselves abide by the highest standards of behavior. This ethical base is the cornerstone of our Army because it governs the faith and trust that our subordinates have in their leaders.<sup>43</sup>

The document suggested a two-tier value system. First-tier or "generic" military values, common to soldiers of all militaries consisted of skill, loyalty, daring, courage and bonding. The new focus was to be on "second-tier values," those values judged unique to the U.S. Army: loyalty to the ideals of the nation, loyalty to the unit, personal responsibility and selfless service"<sup>44</sup> according to FM 22-100. For General Wickham, these four values were

those principles of our democracy that came from the Judeo-Christian religious base, took form in the Magna Carta, and given substance by the American Revolution. Special documents are the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), [the] U.S. perspective and traditions of trial by jury, free exercise of religion, civilian control of the military, procedural safeguards of the law. The Bill of Rights "guarantees these and other rights and privileges against violation by the state. These values are reflected in the checks and balances embodied in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of our government ... These Western and American values also help shape our national policies and the way we conduct our military endeavors."<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>44</sup> FM 22-100 *Military Leadership*, (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, October 1983), 86-90.

<sup>45</sup> DA PAM 600-68 *The Bedrock of Our Profession*, 7.



General Wickham recognized the ethical issues and conflicts inherent in military life, both as a profession and as a means for national policy.

We [as a Total Army] must achieve a balance between unswerving loyalty to our institution and healthy criticism. These are difficult issues, but the professional Army ethic helps us make the tough choices. It guides us as the U.S. Military Academy Cadet Prayer aptly states, "to choose the harder right instead of the easier wrong and never be content with the half truth when the whole can be won."<sup>46</sup>

The last piece in the general's values campaign was the publication of a pocket-sized pamphlet for all soldiers titled *Values: A Handbook for Soldiers*.<sup>47</sup> However, funding and distribution were delayed until fiscal year 1987. General Wickham expected all units to conduct values training and he mandated that soldiers carry the pamphlet at all times in a uniform pocket.

*Values: A Handbook for Soldiers* had two sections. The first was a condensed version of the 1986 white paper but included a stronger statement on the expectation of a commitment by every soldier, based on their taking either the Oath of Enlistment or the Oath of Commission. It recognized the impact of pluralism in America and on American values development. Section two provided

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>47</sup> DA PAM 660 *Values: A Handbook for Soldiers*. (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, January, 1987).

historical and more importantly, institutional context to Wickham's core values - twenty-four stories of soldiers exemplifying the "Four Army Values" during the twentieth century.

An analysis of the stories shows that the General intended to reflect the full spectrum of these values in the Army, and therefore, included narrative situations from outside of combat or war. These were not fictitious case studies, but the stories of real soldiers. Nine of the twenty-four were demonstrations of the values or virtues in peacetime settings and three stories were those of women in the Army. Even in the wartime stories, the examples included situations such as the courage of SGT Daniel Brodie, a supply sergeant during World War I, who rescued his supply and pack animals during an artillery attack or CPL Margaret Hastings, whose plane crashed on an enemy island and whose courage, commitment and selfless service were key to the survivors' rescue.<sup>48</sup>

Since 1983, Army values and ethics have been labeled as a necessary sub-category under leadership. The Army developed a curriculum focusing on what a soldier (leader) should "be, know, and do," representing a sort of Aristotelian approach to ethical formation with increased

discussion on character and character development within the military profession. Officers and non-commissioned officers were the models of the community. Military educators at all levels designed the junior and senior leadership curriculum around the "be, know, do" concept. Character development could not be segregated from one's actions or knowledge."<sup>49</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Malone was the primary project officer at Ft. Leavenworth in charge of the curriculum development. The mandatory core curriculum for all Army officers consisted of approximately fifteen hours of classroom instruction that included the Wickham video, discussion of My Lai, the four Army values and legitimate avenues of dissent.<sup>50</sup>

But in 1989-1991, the world changed radically for America and its military. Operation Just Cause in Panama in December 1989 was followed by the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the end of the Cold War in Europe, and lastly by Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm in the Persian Gulf War in 1990-91. These events that influenced global politics led to the prioritization of force structure rather than ethics as the entire Army down-sized from a

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 2-4 and 2-12.

<sup>49</sup> FM 22-100 *Military Leadership*, (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, July 1990), 25. "Soldiers assess your character as they watch your day-to-day actions."

<sup>50</sup> Chaplain (COL) Horton interview, 7 February 2003.

1989 year end strength of 795,000 active duty soldiers to 495,000 by fiscal year 1993.

The July 1990 update of FM 22-100 showed little shift in the four core values. The two loyalty values of 1983 were consolidated and merged into "loyalty to the Nation, the Army and the unit" and "integrity" was added as a separate value.<sup>51</sup>

During much of the Clinton administration, ethics and values education were reduced to the topics of sexual orientation, homosexuality in the military and sexual harassment. The Navy's Tailhook scandal and the Army's sexual harassment scandals in the mid 1990s forced another introspective look at the adequacy of the current values emphasis. In 1999 under Army Chief of Staff, General Dennis J. Reimer, the current Army values program was adopted - "7 Army values" of loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, and personal courage, making the acronym "LDRSHIP" [*sic* "leadership"]. General

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 29-30. Integrity was defined as "being honest and upright, avoiding deception, and living the values you suggest for your subordinates. Integrity demands that you act according to the other values of the Army ethic. Further, you must demonstrate integrity in your personal life." General Sullivan continued to advocate character development as much as General Wickham, seeking to instill the idea that the military was not a "job," but a profession and that soldiers should be held responsible and accountable for all their actions, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. During my nine years on active duty in personal conversations with older non-commissioned officers, many expressed regret about how the Army seemed more obtrusive in their private "after duty" lives.

Reimer directed that all units, active and reserve, conduct interactive training on the values with a written examination. If the soldier passed the written examination, he was awarded his "values card" to carry in his wallet and "values tag" to wear with his identification (I.D.) tag. If the soldier failed the written test, he had to repeat the training until he could correctly state the values and apply them in simple situations.

This naive and typically military approach to ethical education was simply the attempt to initiate for an entire Army what would require a more concerted, unified educational effort. General Reimer directed that Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) at Fort Monroe, the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks and the Command and General Staff College (CGSC) at Fort Leavenworth revise the Army curriculum, to include intentional inculcation beginning at enlisted basic training in order to incorporate Army values with a more in-depth approach. Due to his focus on Army values, basic combat training (BCT) for all enlisted soldiers was expanded from eight to nine weeks in order to accommodate the new values curriculum.

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## CHAPTER 3

### FORMAL EDUCATION OF ARMY VALUES

#### Enlisted Soldiers Education

Newly enlisted soldiers are indoctrinated in the language of their newly chosen community immediately upon arrival at Basic Combat Training (BCT). The language of individual is stripped off and the new language of a community is imposed. In addition, a formal curriculum consisting of mandatory classroom training is centered on the "7 Army Values." The classroom component is organized around one-hour lectures for each of the seven values, plus an additional five hours for other ethics-related topics that include "Adhere to the [Department of Defense] Code of Conduct," "Make an Ethical Decision," "Apply the Essential Elements of Army Leadership to a Given Situation" and "Religious and Spiritual Values." In addition to classroom instruction, basic trainees participate in the 72-hour training exercise called "Victory Forge" during week 9. They experience tactical settings designed to test the

soldiers' ability to apply the values training to specific combat situations while stressed.

One feature of the training indicates the Aristotelian approach to the development of habits. The Training Support Packets (TSP) clearly direct the instructors and drill sergeants to inform the trainees that they are subject to random and frequent "question and answer" sessions about the Army values during the nine weeks of basic training. In addition to impromptu and informal queries, all trainees participate in small-group discussion about application of the values to military and personal situations. Finally, trainees' daily behaviors are observed to

determine if you demonstrate behaviors consistent with the Army core value(s) regardless of the stresses encountered in performance of your daily duties. At the end of each BCT phase (three phases), these observations will be recorded and evaluated during counseling sessions with the drill sergeant."<sup>52</sup>

Clearly the concepts of role models and habits became the centerpiece of values education. Due to the sexual harassment scandals that emerged first at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland in 1996 involving drill sergeants and training officers,<sup>53</sup> the Army's process for selection of

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<sup>52</sup> BCT POI 21-114 *Values Training - Loyalty*, (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Center for Army Leadership, Combined Arms Center, October 1998), 7. Each of the BCT POIs includes this guidance and requirement.

<sup>53</sup> CNN, "Soldiers Arraigned in U.S. Army Sex Scandal," 6 December 1996.

these enlisted leaders and role models underwent intense scrutiny. Now background checks are required of the applicants to those assignments and there is a stricter examination of applicants' personal military files and character references. The system is far from perfect, but the processes seek to select only those persons who have demonstrated Army values in their own careers. Each drill sergeant is evaluated annually by officers, senior non-commissioned officers and peers.

#### ROTC Cadet Education

The Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) incorporates a more academic approach to the discussion of ethics and values education - more emphasis on *habitus* and less on habit. Preparatory instruction materials introduce future officers to the concept of the military as a profession. It is this sense of profession that "distinguishes the military officer of today from the warriors of previous ages."<sup>54</sup> The training manual describes the military profession as "a peculiar type of functional group with highly specialized characteristics [of] expertise,

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<sup>54</sup> Sheila Visconti, editor. Foundations of Officership: Military Science and Leadership MSL 101, (Boston: McGraw-Hill Primis Custom Publishing, 2002), 10.



responsibility [in a social context ... essential to the functioning of society, [and] corporateness."<sup>55</sup>

The specific "Army L-D-R-S-H-I-P values" curriculum in ROTC comes directly from FM 22-100 *Military Leadership*. It is augmented by personal anecdotes and histories of the instructors, all senior non-commissioned officers and mid-grade officers (Captain to Lieutenant Colonel). In addition to weekly classes, weekend training and summer camps reinforce the values curriculum along the same pattern as enlisted training, albeit with a focus on developing leadership skills.

With ROTC programs at over 270 colleges and universities, more commissioned officers now come from ROTC than from West Point. This more heterogeneous educational formation works to counterbalance and provide an officer corps that is more reflective of American society as a whole. The desired expertise of the American military officer includes a "broad, liberal, cultural background ... normally handled by the general educational institutions of society"<sup>56</sup> and only then followed by training in the specialized skills of the military profession.

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 10-11.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 10.

### The Narratives of Army Values

Army ethics and values require historical narratives to provide the necessary context and definition, as does any ethical perspective. The narratives illustrate those values judged most appropriate to the development of an "Army ethic," exemplified by four core values (1983-1998) or the "7 Army values" (1998 to present). Values are defined as "attitudes about the worth or importance of people, concepts or things ... Values influence your behavior because you use them to weigh the importance of alternatives ... For people to live together, they must agree on certain beliefs and values which become group norms (rules or laws) that members of the group follow."<sup>57</sup> The Army field manuals and training support packets present those official narratives deemed crucial for all soldiers, to create a common history in order to develop the sense of community or brotherhood necessary to function as an organization with a specific social role.

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<sup>57</sup> FM 22-100 *Military Leadership*, (October 1983), 86-87 and FM 100-1 *The Army*, (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 1983), 23-24.

FM 22-100 *Military Leadership* (October 1983)

Military ethical writers designed FM 22-100 (October 1983) around one major historical narrative, two minor historical narratives, excerpts from one historical novel and several fictional case studies.<sup>58</sup> The pre-dominant story of ethics and leadership in the entire field manual is of the life of Colonel Joshua Chamberlain, the 20<sup>th</sup> Maine Regiment during the Battle of Gettysburg, and of the events of July 2, 1863 at Little Round Top. The field manual dedicates twenty pages to the Chamberlain stories.

The military highlights Chamberlain's leadership of the regiment prior to the battle, his ability to hold the critical defensive position, and then defeat the Confederate attack, thereby winning the Medal of Honor. There is extensive biographical information, underscoring Chamberlain's broad liberal education prior to the Civil War, for Chamberlain was not a professionally trained officer, but a civilian, having been a professor of languages at Bowdoin College, Maine. The narrative provides additional information about Chamberlain's actions at the Battle of Petersburg and concludes with his

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<sup>58</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, I have chosen to limit my selection to the historical narratives chosen by the Army to emphasize and place in a concrete historical setting the actions of real persons, rather than fictitious ones. This does not imply a limited value of fiction,

selection, along with his unit, the 20<sup>th</sup> Maine, to be present at the Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia at the time of Lee's surrender.<sup>59</sup> Chamberlain's leadership and ethics are referred to six times in specific applications of the Army values of loyalty to the nation, loyalty to the unit, courage and selfless service.<sup>60</sup> In reference to Chamberlain's character, the field manual lists the key pre-military aspects of that good character, describing Chamberlain as one who had a "consistent pattern of behavior" prior to his commission.<sup>61</sup>

Two other historical narratives are included in the discussion on ethics and values and on character. First, the story of PVT Charles E. "Commando" Kelly during World War II is given little space. Kelly's story focuses on his courage and selfless service in September 1943 during a reconnaissance mission behind German lines in the Italian Campaign.

The second and more dominant story is about Sergeant Alvin C. York in World War I. Sergeant York's story is of particular interest due to the significant amount of biographical information included. When drafted, he had

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but rather the poor quality of the fictitious stories and case studies in military training materials.

<sup>59</sup> FM 22-100 (October 1983), 4-16.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 76, 77, 78, 82, 89, 90, 91.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 56.

initially requested exemption from military service as a pacifist. He is described as one who had experienced a major life-changing religious conversion, applying for the status of conscientious objector when the draft was instituted in 1917. However, since York's request was refused,<sup>62</sup> he reported for training and continued to appeal for conscientious objector status, stating to his company commander "he would do his duty, but that he did not want to fight and did not believe in killing enemy soldiers." The unit commander, a Major George E. Buxton, placed PVT York on pass for two weeks in order to return home and resolve his ethical dilemma away from the military environment. In a bold move quite rare, he also promised him separation and a discharge if he came back convinced of his pacifist beliefs. After two weeks of soul-searching and discussion with his minister, York returned, stating he would in good conscience, albeit reluctantly, fight for his country. He later went on to win the Medal of Honor for actions on October 8, 1918 during the Battle of the Argonne Forest. The narrative highlights York's desire to kill as few enemy soldiers as possible on October 8 and emphasizes

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<sup>62</sup> Army regulations for conscientious objector at that time required the requesting soldier to be a member of a peace church. York's church was an independent church, so no conscientious objector status was granted. Buxton and York represent perhaps the exception rather than the rule as

his single-handed capture of 132 prisoners. The field manual summarizes York's character by stating, "this case clearly demonstrates the value of one person - one soldier - with strong character based on moral principles."<sup>63</sup>

FM 22-100 discussed other aspects of leadership and consistently illustrated the Army values of that time from the lives of Chamberlain, Kelly, and York. It also included a significant portion of the text about the main character of the historical novel Rifleman Dodd, by C. S. Forester.<sup>64</sup>

Of special interest to the Christian ethicist, the 1983 edition of the field manual refers to Christian martyrdom in its discussion of the importance of beliefs, values, and norms that ...

guide the actions of individuals and groups. They are like a traffic control system; they are signals giving direction, meaning, and purpose to our lives. They are powerful. People will risk danger and will often die for deeply held beliefs and values. Many early Christians died for their beliefs because they valued service to God more than their lives. Death in the service of God was an accepted norm.<sup>65</sup>

FM 22-100 represented Wickham's profound belief in the founding documents of the nation. However, the language is

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to the respect and treatment of draftees who were pacifists and requested exemption based on conscience.

<sup>63</sup> FM 22-100 (October 1983), 110-115.

<sup>64</sup> C. S. Forester, Rifleman Dodd, (Garden City, NY: Sun Dial Press, 1944), as referenced in FM 22-100 (October 1983).

<sup>65</sup> FM 22-100 (October 1983), 77.

couched in terms of "American ideals found in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence." Those ideals are further qualified as "the ideals of freedom, justice, truth, and equality."<sup>66</sup> There is no attempt to reference or explain the informing documents from Enlightenment philosophers Rousseau, Hobbes and Locke.

FM 22-100 *Military Leadership* (July 1990)

Under General Gordon Sullivan, the field manual was both revised and reduced in volume. It consolidated the two loyalties into an expanded single "loyalty to the nation, the Army, and the unit," retained selfless service, eliminated the term "personal responsibility" and added "integrity" and "duty." The value or virtue of duty in relationship to the American military profession goes back to the U.S. Military Academy's earliest ethical curriculum, or "duty ethics."<sup>67</sup> The 1990 field manual represented an Aristotelian approach to ethics and character. It recommended a fourfold approach to character development:

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 86-87.

<sup>67</sup>Brinsfield argues "duty" ethics is antecedent to "virtue" ethics. According to Brinsfield, Socrates regarded duty or obligation to one's country, to one's city-state, to one's family, and to one's self as the basis and test for true character development. Plato described duty (or obligation) as encompassing duty to God and the State, which filtered through Kant and then Paley at West Point in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, became "God and Country." See Brinsfield, "Army Values and Ethics: A Search for Consistency and Relevance," 79.

- Assess the present strength of your values and character.
- Determine what values you want to promote.
- Seek out missions and situations that support developing such character.
- Select a role model who demonstrates the values and character you are trying to develop.<sup>68</sup>

The emphasis on rational capacity indicates a Kantian approach of the individual being fully capable and independent to choose the right values but shows the classical understanding of character and virtue development through *habitus* and friendship (in a military sense).

The FM retained the historical narratives of Chamberlain and York in its discussion of ethics and values. However, the Alvin York narrative was edited significantly from the 1983 publication, eliminating many of the details about York's life, including his philanthropic work in his hometown after the war in which he established schools in his hometown, and his refusal to allow his fame to be used for personal financial gain.

In the 1990s, the down-sized Army experienced a decade of increased operational deployments. Operation Desert Storm and Operation Desert Shield (1990-1991) in Kuwait and Southwest Asia, is the most significant example of its combat operations, with the Army operating according to its

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<sup>68</sup> FM 22-100 *Military Leadership*. (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, July 1990), 28.



wartime mission. However, even while downsizing the force structure, the Army began to be tasked with a new type of mission - Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW)<sup>69</sup> in Operations Provide Comfort and Provide Hope in Somalia, Hurricane Andrew in Florida, Task Force Able Sentry in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti, Operation Joint Guardian and Task Force Eagle in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Operation Joint Guardian II and Task Forces Hawk and Falcon in Kosovo. The Army contributed soldiers to disaster relief in Central America and provided soldiers to fight forest fires in the continental United States.

The increased use of the military during the Clinton years for "peace operations" eventually led to the development of new doctrinal terms and concepts under the term "Support and Stability Operations" (SASO). "Stability Operations" refers to operations that "promote and protect US national interests by influencing the threat, political,

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<sup>69</sup> The goals of MOOTW are to "deter war and resolve conflict" and to "promote peace and support US Civil Authorities." Types of MOOTW operations include: arms control, combating terrorism, consequence management, Department of Defense support to counterdrug operations, domestic support operations (such as relief after Hurricane Andrew), enforcement of sanctions and maritime intercept operations, enforcing exclusion zones, ensuring freedom of navigation and overflight, foreign humanitarian assistance, noncombatant evacuation operations, peace operations (both peacekeeping and peace enforcement), protection of shipping, recovery operations, show of force operations, strikes and raids, support to counterinsurgency and support to insurgency. See JP 3-0 *Doctrine for Joint Operations*, V-6.

and information dimensions of the operational environment through a combination of peacetime development, cooperative activities and coercive actions in response to a crisis." The term "Support Operations" applies to operations that "employ Army forces to assist civil authorities, foreign or domestic, as they prepare for or respond to crisis and relieve suffering."<sup>70</sup> As the Army developed military doctrine, force structure and tactics to support MOOTW, it also revised the Army ethic to the Army's current seven values,<sup>71</sup> under Generals Reimer and Shinseki.

FM 22-100 *Military Leadership* (August 1999)

The current version of FM 22-100 was completed in August 1999 and supercedes all previous editions. It is the first to incorporate the "7 Army values" program under Generals Reimer and Shinseki. There is an increase in the amount of discussion dedicated to ethics and values from the 1990 edition with an intentional emphasis on modified-form of virtue ethics and character. It is a clear rewrite of the 1990 FM.

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<sup>70</sup> FM 3-0, *The Army and the Role of Land Power*. (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1998), 1-48. See also JP 3-0, *Doctrine for Joint Operations*. (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 10 September 2001), I-2.

<sup>71</sup> The "7 Army Values" form the acronym LDRSHIP: loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, personal courage.

This leadership manual lays out a framework that applies to all Army leaders - officer and NCO, military and civilian, active and reserve component. At the core of our leadership doctrine are the same Army Values embedded in our force: LDRSHIP. The framework also outlines physical, mental and emotional attributes that together with values form character - what a leader must BE.<sup>72</sup>

This edition establishes "honor" as the overarching value (or virtue) that links the other six. As such, it is the "cardinal virtue." The focus on "honor" is both institutional and individual. In addition, it also reflects the evolution of military doctrine toward peace operations, discussing for the first time in any field manual the concept of peace rather than cessation of hostilities. "The ultimate end of war, at least as America fights, is to restore peace. For this reason, the Army must accomplish its mission honorably. The Army fights to win, but with one eye on the kind of peace to follow the war."<sup>73</sup> What the field manual fails to provide is a context or narrative describing what "peace" is.

Chapter 2 discusses in detail (for the Army) the issue of institutional character development. The roles of desire, education and community are emphasized. It states the necessity of a virtuous character for any who aspire to make the Army a professional career. It avoids absolutism

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<sup>72</sup> FM 22-100 *Military Leadership*. (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters,

by recognizing the complex nature of situations, in a similar manner to Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics.

Character is important in living a consistent and moral life, but character doesn't always provide the final answer to the specific question, "What should I do now?" Finding that out can be called ethical reasoning ... the process is much more complex than the steps indicate and that you must apply your own values, critical reasoning skills and imagination to the situation. There are no formulas that will serve every time; sometimes you may not even come up with an answer that completely satisfies you. But if you embrace Army values and let them govern your actions, if you learn from your experiences and develop your skills over time, you're as prepared as you can be to face the tough calls.<sup>74</sup>

The formative narratives in the text include specific reference to the Constitution, which is included in an appendix of the field manual. Of thirteen vignettes illustrating Army values, eleven are historical events, a significantly different percentage than the stories used in enlisted education. The field manual provides less detail in the narratives than either of the previous editions, but proportionately, only five of these stories are directly combat-related. Reference to WO1 Thompson at My Lai is retained in the current field manual. In all, twenty-four pages are dedicated to the subjects of ethics, values, beliefs and character as they relate to the Army community.

This edition also includes a one-page appendix (Appendix E) to assist Army leaders in integrating character development programs into the training schedules. It states that it is a command responsibility to "teach moral principles, ethical theory, Army values, and leadership attributes ... By educating their subordinates and setting the example, Army leaders enable their subordinates to make ethical decisions that in turn contribute to excellence." It concludes by stating, "conformity to Army values is not good enough in America's values-based Army. People of character behave correctly through correct understanding and personal desire."<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid, paragraph 1-74.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, paragraph 2-95, 2-23.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, Appendix E.

## CHAPTER 4

### NARRATIVE IN CURRENT TRAINING PROGRAMS

#### The 7 Army Values

In 1998, the Army's Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel (ODCSPER) tasked the Center for Army Leadership, Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas to prepare an educational packet for distribution and implementation at all Army basic training installations. A review of the narratives in the "Army Values" training support packets indicates both a consistency with the Army values educational initiatives of General Wickham in 1986 as well as the inclusion of new narratives from the more recent military operations. Each institutional value is taught in a one-hour block of instruction which includes the viewing of a short video clip, the ever-present Microsoft Powerpoint™ slide presentation with key concepts, quotes and questions for discussion.

The instructor's Training Support Packet (TSP) provides four narratives and/or case studies for each Army value as an embodiment, as well as examples or case studies

of the specific Army value. An analysis of the lessons shows that only ten of the twenty-eight narratives are actual historical events from Army history. Eighteen are fictional case studies designed to test the ability of the basic trainees to apply the values at their level of military experience.<sup>76</sup>

Of the ten historical narratives, there is continuity with the 1986 ethics training materials, to include WO1 Hugh Thompson's actions to stop the massacre at My Lai as a right example of duty;<sup>77</sup> Colonel Joshua Chamberlain's respect for the mutineers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Maine Volunteer Regiment prior to the Battle of Gettysburg; the concept of honor as it related to the signatories of the Declaration of Independence and once again to General MacArthur's "Duty, Honor, Country" speech. The value of integrity is discussed around the issues of slavery (an example of institutionalized integrity failure by all those who did not oppose slavery) and the civil rights movement (the integrity of those willing to suffer for equal rights in the 1960s). There are, however, no examples of Army values from its history in the fuller context of its multi-faceted

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<sup>76</sup> The fictional case studies are generally poorly written with the appropriate Army answer "self evident," described by many as "boring."

<sup>77</sup> It is vital to note that the Army has included Thompson's actions as worthy of emulation as one's duty rather than ignoring the incident altogether. See footnote 16 for a further description of his actions.

missions such as peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, etc.

In the ROTC training materials, one finds a different pattern and a broader history presented. Visconti's account included ten pages summarizing Army history from 1791 to 2002. In 1791, the Army consisted of only fifty-five officers and eighty enlisted soldiers, whose sole purpose was to guard the military stores at West Point. The first military budget submitted to Congress funded an Army of seven hundred militiamen for frontier duty. With the exceptions of the War of 1812, the Mexican War (1832), the American Civil War (1861-1865) and the Spanish-American War (1898), Army roles "were principally concerned with security rights of the frontier," to include such corollary tasks as surveying, road building, local subsistence farming, peacemaking or peacekeeping and some law enforcement.<sup>78</sup>

However, other historical missions included the Seminole Indian War of 1830 (soldiers hated it and it was difficult to recruit for this expedition), humanitarian services provided after the 1905 San Francisco earthquake, the military "pursuit" of Pancho Villa in 1917 as a police action, the management of the Civilian Conservation Corps



starting in 1933, the post World War II occupations and establishment of democratic governments in Germany and Japan, and military operations other than war in northern Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. The author incorrectly lists U.S. involvement in Rwanda during the 1994 massacres.<sup>79</sup> In other words, Visconti intentionally downplays the combat mission of the Army with the goal of establishing a broader historical perspective. Her descriptions of Army life are intended to counter dissatisfaction among current junior officers as to realistic career expectations in today's Army.

Visconti's discussion of Army values (lesson 9) is printed verbatim from FM 22-100 *Military Leadership* (August 1999). The entire text includes all the illustrations of the field manual. Of the thirteen vignettes illustrating Army values, eleven are historical events, a higher percentage than the stories used in enlisted education. In addition, only five of eleven stories are directly related to combat situations. The remaining six deal with humanitarian assistance missions, maintaining one's

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<sup>78</sup> Visconti, 16-17.

<sup>79</sup> Visconti, 18-22. The numbers of soldiers deployed was so insignificant and inconsequential that this author has written to the editors recommending that "Rwanda" be deleted from future editions.

integrity as a prisoner of war or other non-combat situations.<sup>80</sup>

The final training module in Foundations of Officership (lessons 10-12) addresses more academic and formal areas of values and ethics. Within these materials one finds a developed history of Army values vice American values. The text recognizes that those values or traits necessary for the formation and identity of military professionals have been historically different than those of the citizen in a democracy. "Even where there is a necessity of the military power, within the land, which by the way but rarely happens, a wise and prudent people will always have a watchful and jealous eye over it; for the maxims and rules of the army, are essentially different from the genius of a free people, and the laws of a free government."<sup>81</sup> Early America kept a watchful eye on her small army, for fear that it become like one of the European militaries.

In all the materials surveyed, the foundational narratives for the Army's values are the founding documents of the nation: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. Some of the training

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<sup>80</sup> Visconti, 132-155.

<sup>81</sup> Visconti, 160. Citation attributed to Samuel Adams.

materials alluded to these documents as almost self-interpretive, ignoring the judicial interpretations that have fashioned and in some cases, corrected the socio-cultural restrictions or lacunae when drafted in the late eighteenth century. Other training materials simply refer to Wickham's earlier use of "the ideals" of the nation's founding documents.

Introductory officer education provides some of these issues. Visconti's text includes a significant discussion about the philosophical underpinnings of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights, particularly those of "individual rights." It includes references to the formative writings of John Locke's "Second Treatise on Government" and Thomas Jefferson's substitution of "happiness" over Locke's inalienable rights of "life, liberty and property." Madison insisted on the Bill of Rights over the protests of the Federalists and the role of the press in early American society as a sort of informal fourth "branch" of the government. The text also addresses the "characteristic values of American society as ... capitalistic, unrestrained, individualistic,"<sup>82</sup> as a sort of necessary counterbalancing set of values that shapes the identity of America's soldiers and officers. Today's

officers are expected and even required to hold in balance, as a sort of Aristotelian mean, the extremes of professional military values and citizens' rights.

Visconti continues the discussion on military ethics and professionalism, contrasting Thomas Hobbes's philosophy to that of Aristotle. The text argues that Hobbes's pre-suppositions represent a "self-interest" ethic, although Hobbes is defended by some ethicists as sufficient as a basis for military values and ethics. Hobbes's view ultimately leads to a view of the military as a "contractual" commitment, causing an "adversarial relationship" with the society it has obligated itself to protect.<sup>83</sup> This issue, as it relates to the question of "selfless service" and "sacrifice," has brought about the military's renewed emphasis on service. Since the military deals with issues of death and destruction, ethicists have recognized the inherent conflict between self-preservation and self-interest versus self sacrifice and the "greater good" of a community (the nation represented as an ideal in the Constitution, the Army, or the unit).

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<sup>82</sup> Visconti, 162.

<sup>83</sup> Visconti, 174. There appears to be an obvious incongruity between the Army's recruiting emphasis and the Army values. Whether it was the "Be All that You can Be" or "An Army of One," both recruiting slogans appeal to a self-interest ethic while one of the Army's stated values is "selfless service."

The current debate among American military ethicists finds strong advocates for a return to a purer Aristotelian and classical Greek notion of "man as *zoon politicus*." This shift would lead to more "fruitful judgments concerning the ethical dimensions of military leadership."<sup>84</sup> James H. Toner, ethics instructor at the Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base and Professor Bradley Watson, have recommended a minimization of the current "pop culture" trend of "core values" in favor of a single curriculum based on the cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, courage, and temperance. Toner states

As good as "core values" are, such concepts as "candor" or "commitment" or "excellence in all we do" are not hinges upon which conscience can be founded. Only the bedrock of ideas of the cardinal virtues provides such a groundwork ... [Conscience is] formed over the years, as a matter of conscious, routine (*habitus*) and as the outcome of good education, experience and training. Conscience is taught by wise teachers and by good books and films and conversations - and it is caught from sometimes hard experiences and suffering.<sup>85</sup>

Toner argues that "core values" programs, although "necessary" are "not sufficient."<sup>86</sup> For it is possible to hold to all the right core values even for an evil end! From a classical perspective, ethical training must proceed from training in the virtues and moral reasoning in

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Toner, 52-53.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 52.

addition to virtuous practices. Toner's pro virtue ethics argument takes into account the pluralistic nature of religion in America, but appeals strongly to natural law as the unifying basis for his approach. If one were to accept Toner's premise, one finds a sort of Aristotelian and Kantian ethical mélange.<sup>87</sup> Toner's arguments do offer the possibility for a more consistent set of "values" and a more direct emphasis on character than those programs developed since Vietnam.

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 74. Toner wrote, the "Air Force attempts no explanation of the origin of their values except to say that all of us, regardless of our religious views, must recognize their fundamental importance and accept them for that reason." I disagree with Toner's gloss over the religious background of values and virtues. Truth and honesty requires the instructor, even in a pluralistic military setting, to relate the religious and philosophical backgrounds of the discussion.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE MISSING STORY

FM 1 *The Army* is the foundational field manual for all Army publications because it describes the doctrinal and historic rationale for the Army's existence and includes some of the foundational principles and narratives of that military community. It argues that the Army is a profession,<sup>88</sup> and proposes that the ultimate mission and purpose of the institution is to "serve the nation, ... defend the Constitution and our way of life, ...[and] protect America's security and our Nation's interests."<sup>89</sup> A search of FM 1 *The Army* with the hope of finding the Army's stated purpose "persuasive in peace, invincible in war," as voiced

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<sup>88</sup> According to FM 1, the Army exhibits characteristics of a "profession," these being (1) a service to society, (2) a sense of *vocatio* among its members, (3) distinct bodies of specialized knowledge, (4) a formalized educational system to transfer that knowledge in both formal theoretical and practical education, (5) particular vocabularies, (6) professional journals, (7) distinct forms of dress, (8) creation of "their own ethos and standards to maintain the effectiveness of their service, and (9) a sense of autonomy for self-government. FM 1 *The Army*, (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 14 June 2001), 1-4.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 1-1.

by Chief of Staff of the Army, General Eric Shinseki,<sup>90</sup> indicates there is no explicit reference to the peace mission. Allusions to peace operations are veiled.

While there are didactic texts that detail different types of peace operations among the Army's missions, there are no historical narratives that might indicate an institutional acceptance of the General's priorities. In recent response to General Shinseki's testimony to the House Budget Committee regarding the size of a peacekeeping force in Iraq, one senior Pentagon official (the article does not state if this official is military or civilian) called the general a "Clintonite enamored of using the army for peacekeeping and nation-building and not winning wars."<sup>91</sup>

FM 1 *The Army* does admit several key criteria relating to the Army's existence: the Army does "more than fight wars" and the Army is composed of "citizen-soldiers." It is in these two areas that current ethical training documents (Training Support Packets or TSP's on the "Army values") are most deficient. As already noted in the review of the ROTC curriculum, the Army's history consists of a

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<sup>90</sup> General Shinseki's vision statement begins with the phrase "persuasive in peace, invincible in war." See General Eric K. Shinseki, "The Chief of Staff of the Army's Vision." United States Army official website, [www.us.army.mil/csa/vision/html](http://www.us.army.mil/csa/vision/html).



significant number of activities outside of war. Thus, the Army should revise and include narratives reflective of Army values in peace operations.

The historical narratives in FM-1 are overwhelmingly war-related. FM 1 does refer to other missions, such as establishing civil governments in recently acquired territories, providing disaster relief after a hurricane, conducting contingency operations in the Philippines, mapping new territory and finding paths to extend the frontier, building roads and canals, or serving as the executive agent for reconstructing the south. But the formative and powerful narratives selected for inclusion in the field manual show a strong bias toward combat and war fighting. The historical stories and narratives included are:

- The successful attack of the Continental Army of Redoubt No. 10 at the Battle of Yorktown that concluded the American Revolution,
- The courageous combat mission of the 369<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment as part of the American Expeditionary Force at the Battle of Meuse-Argonne on 26 September to 1 October 1918,
- General Dwight D. Eisenhower's visit with the paratroopers of the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division on 5 June 1944 (prior to the Normandy invasion),
- The courage and selfless sacrifices of the 29<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division and the 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry Division on Omaha Beach on 6 June 1944,

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<sup>91</sup> Jason Vest. "The War: The War After the War - U.S. Army documents warn of occupation hazards." Seattle Weekly, 19-25 March 2003.

- The American attack on San Juan Hill, Santiago de Cuba on 1 July 1898, and
- Leadership and training of the Continental Army at Valley Forge in February 1778.

This absence of peace operation narratives may explain the role conflict that some soldiers, particularly those in the combat arms branches, have voiced. Numerous official government surveys and reports, as well as many civilian studies have highlighted the significance of personal expectations,<sup>92</sup> professional satisfaction and mission accomplishment. A common attitude among many soldiers whose units are assigned to peacekeeping may be summarized in the following, "We are doing some good for these people, but I joined the Army to be in a combat-ready unit, not to be a policeman."<sup>93</sup> It may also indicate the dominant narratives under which they were formed as young officers and the heroic identity that they chose to believe.

While this paper has not addressed the ethics curriculum at the U.S. Military Academy, recent

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<sup>92</sup> The Army War College study refers to a young officer tasked to describe his military service in Bosnia-Herzegovina to West Point cadets, "I tell my men every day there is nothing there (in Bosnia-Herzegovina) worth one of them dying for" in "Army Professionalism, the Military Ethic, and Officership in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." By Dr. Don M. Snider, Major John A. Nagl, and Major Tony Pfaff, (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, December, 1999), 1.

<sup>93</sup> Volker C. Franke's sociological research among military members is directed in the area of identity formation. His article "The Social Identity of Peacekeeping: Resolving Identity Tensions in New Missions" was read at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, CA in September 2001, where he cites J.

sociological studies indicate a greater inclination toward combat missions and "warriorism." One presentation states

cadets' attitudes towards peacekeeping and other non-combat operations "grew more negative the longer they had been at West Point.' While more than half (58 percent) of plebes found peacekeeping and other non-combat operations to 'be central to the military's functions' (19 percent disagreed), only one-third of seniors (32 percent) viewed these missions as an essential task for the military (48 percent disagreed). Similarly, by their senior year, significantly fewer cadets thought they 'would find peacekeeping as rewarding as war fighting.'" <sup>94</sup>

Other studies, such as those commissioned by the Center for Strategic and International Studies Institute in 1997 confirm the need for continuing education program that includes a greater emphasis on ethics that develops today's military for peace-keeping missions. The panel recommended the

services adjust the curricula of all their PME [Professional Military Education] institutions to reflect a greater emphasis on peacemaking and peacekeeping operations, as well as on other tools of "preventive defense." As the services have discovered in a continuous string of such "operations other than war," warriors prepared for the kill-or-be-killed dynamic of the battlefield, despite their Herculean efforts and professional military competence, sometimes are prepared inadequately for the more benign imperatives of peacekeeping. <sup>95</sup>

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Kitfield, "Peacekeepers' Progress," National Journal, no.52-53, (2000), 3952.

<sup>94</sup> Volker C. Franke. "Warriors for Peace: The Next Generation of Military Leaders." Armed Forces and Society, 24:1, (Fall, 1997), 44.

<sup>95</sup> Center for Strategic and International Studies, Dick Cheney, Chair. Professional Military Education: An Asset for Peace and Progress. (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1997), 11-12.

Visconti's ROTC curriculum addresses this inequity and imbalance in the pro-combat and pro-war bias of the training materials.

### The Debate over Peace Operations

Peace operations as part of official military doctrine are a recent development. The decade of the 1990s saw an extensive use of the Army for extended periods outside of combat, often linked to United Nations mandates or missions. In order to begin to develop doctrinal concepts for peace operations, the Army established the U.S. Army Peacekeeping Institute at the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania in 1993. On May 3, 1994, seven months after the famous "Blackhawk Down" incident in Mogadishu, Somalia, President Bill Clinton signed a classified presidential decision directive (PDD 25) that defined the scope and conditions of future U.S. roles in multilateral peacekeeping operations as an extension of American foreign policy.<sup>96</sup> All U.S. military force structure and missions are tied to the National Security Strategy and the National Military Strategy, documents

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<sup>96</sup> Nina M. Serafino. Peacekeeping: Issues of U.S. Military Involvement. (Washington, D.C: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 4 February 2002), IB94040.

mandated by Congress and published every four years by the executive branch of government. These documents are designed to guide Congress in budget considerations and the military in operational planning.

Second, in the early 1990s, there was political debate on the need and future for a large standing army in light of the end of the Cold War and the success of Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm. In order to justify the existence for such an army in a "new world order," it became necessary to develop concepts and reasons to maintain a military at "desirable" force structure and funding levels. Peace operations and military operations other than war (MOOTW) became a key part of the American political debate about her military.

Third, competition for budget dollars during the military drawdown of the late 1980s and early 1990s forced each branch to find something unique to justify its budget and existence. The Air Force made its claim in the area of precision engagement (smart bombs); the Marine Corps, littoral and urban warfare; and the Army, military missions other than war. While there was strong institutional resistance to peace operations and MOOTW, the Army accepted them and began to incorporate the lessons learned into formal tactics, techniques and procedures; writing and

distributing field manuals and joint publications  
 establishing military doctrine for peace operations.<sup>97</sup>

Still many senior leaders argued that peace operations degraded combat skills and a loss of the "warrior ethos." Visconti summarized their opposition as

Resistance to the shift in jurisdiction was heard as some complained about the detrimental effects of peacekeeping or operations other than war on the Army. Senior officers called for calm, assuring members of the profession that these missions were nothing new. Yet, while the missions were replays of history, something had changed. The Army was still carrying the self-image of warrior. Peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, and civil support were all worthy missions, but the Army still retained an equal priority on winning the next first battle. The psychological strain of sustaining two major jurisdictions continues to burden the force today.<sup>98</sup>

Many of those military leaders who oppose peace operations were formed by the stories of war at the military academies in the 1960s and 1970s, when the dominant histories of military virtues were exclusively taken from combat and taught by combat veterans. General Douglas MacArthur's 1962 "Duty, Honor, Country" speech is replete with illustrations from the annals of war.

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<sup>97</sup> The Army published FM 200-23 *Peace Operations* in 1994. It was published from lessons learned from Operation Just Cause in Panama; Operation Hurricane Andrew in response to the humanitarian and disaster relief in Florida and Operation Provide Comfort in response to humanitarian needs in northern Iraq among the Kurds. The Department of Defense followed with JP 3-07 *Military Operations Other Than War* and JP 3-07.3 *Peace Operations* in 2000, incorporating lessons learned from Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti and Operation Joint Guardian in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1996, among others.

<sup>98</sup> Visconti, 23.

MacArthur was a master rhetorician and he closed his speech with the haunting words, "Were you to do so [that is, fail as an officer to courageously defend the nation], a million ghosts in olive drab, in brown khaki, in blue and gray, would rise from their white crosses thundering those magic words - Duty - Honor - Country."<sup>99</sup> In other words, the formative stories of the Army for the senior leaders who resisted peacekeeping were born of the stories of MacArthur's speeches.

While not desiring to diminish the relevance or be overly critical of MacArthur's eloquence and impact, the power of story in the military formation is incontestable. Again, Franke's studies suggest "the more individuals rely on monistic belief systems or ideologies, i.e., the more they view choices in black and white terms, the more they will tend to employ [these] simplistic strategies."<sup>100</sup>

Visconti remarks about the cultural shift in today's Army in the ROTC textbook.

The prolonged tendency toward inculcating a "Hoo-ah" attitude in the Army has finally come up against the dual necessity to do more than just all that noise tends to suggest. Teaching the history of battles and campaigns that end with the military defeat of the enemy's forces is no longer adequate. The simple

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<sup>99</sup> General Douglas A. MacArthur, "The Corps, and the Corps, and the Corps." Speech given when he was presented the Sylvanus Thayer Award at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, NY, 12 May 1962. See Appendix A.

<sup>100</sup> Franke, "The Social Identity of Peacekeeping," 18.

truth is that the Army has spent most of its existence doing things other than war. It is time the instruction in Army history be honestly presented to include all the other seemingly mundane "stuff". And that is also the "stuff" in which the Army should take equal pride of performance ... If the glory of combat operations is all that officers are taught and acculturated to, their understanding of their jurisdiction will suffer, they will misunderstand the breadth of the commitment, and some will leave the profession feeling betrayed.<sup>101</sup>

In the American context, the military is ultimately subordinate to the political aims of government. The Clinton Administration showed a strong interest in peace operations - and the military responded as part of the national political will.<sup>102</sup> Presidential candidate George W. Bush publicly decried the negative impact of peace operations on readiness and morale. Since his election and consistent with his declarations, the Bush administration and Department of Defense have confirmed their intent to close the Army's Peacekeeping Institute no later than September 2003.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Visconti, 25.

<sup>102</sup> This refers to President Clinton's authorization on 3 May 1994 of PDD 25, a classified document that defined the scope and conditions of future U.S. participation in, and "contributions to, multilateral (mostly United Nations) peacekeeping efforts. Nina M. Serafino. Peacekeeping: Issues of U.S. Military Involvement.

<sup>103</sup> Peter H. Gantz. "U.S. Army to Close Peacekeeping Institute." Washington, D.C.: World Federalist Association, 31 May 2002. The Peacekeeping Institute had a staff of 10 persons and a working budget of only \$200,000 a year. This decision is highly regrettable in light of the now proven benefits of peace operations. Retired Air Force General Joseph Ralston is among those who have lobbied on behalf of strengthening the deterrent values of peace operations as symbolic of U.S. values and beneficial to U.S. security. Studies in Great Britain, which has had a longer history of peace operations in Northern Ireland,



Since story and narrative are at the heart of ethical and values formation, one of the essential correctives is to balance the values framework and prepare today's soldiers for the ethical complexities of the modern battlefield. These new situations are part of the modern politico-military environment. One way to prepare soldiers ethically for the potential dual roles as both warriors and peacemakers is to incorporate stories that will engage the mind and heart and serve to train soldiers on how they should act. It is possible that training in the use of non-lethal force may provide skills needed in multiple situations even outside of the military conflict.

Focusing on a common identity, a shared purpose, or similar role commitments may permit members of conflicting groups to emphasize common experiences and comparable life interests rather than the differences that motivated the conflict in the first place. Learning to employ differentiation and integration strategies may not only help individuals to resolve cognitive inconsistencies without destabilizing their self-conceptions, it may also be an effective way of conflict resolution or at least mitigation by increasing inter-group tolerance and compassion for others.<sup>104</sup>

The Army values training support programs, ROTC curriculum and future field manuals should seek to incorporate narratives and achievements from among the

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confirm the military training benefits. See "Peacekeeping is Training for War" by Major Robert J. Heatly, Royal Marines, CSC 1993, available at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1993/hrj.htm>.

vast, non-combat roles and history of the Army. Since many of the Army's deployments in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century were for some form of military operations other than war, future military educators should also seek to institutionalize and include stories from those operations, emphasizing the Army values, into future field manuals and training support packages.

One suggested story, related to military ethics and peacekeeping, is that of Canadian Brigadier General Romeo Dallaire. Dallaire was the commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) in late 1993 until late summer 1994. While it is a story of failed diplomacy among the nations and the United Nations, it is a story of great personal military heroism and courage, albeit one that was not resourced in order to be effective. The ethical issues surrounding Dallaire's unsuccessful attempts to first avert, then limit the massacres in Rwanda, exemplify the kind of character advocated in the Army's values program.<sup>105</sup> Dallaire's story deserves to be told as an example of the more "mundane" activities that make up the life of a soldier. In a July 3, 2000 letter to the

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<sup>104</sup> Franke, "The Social Identity of Peacekeeping: Resolving Identity Tensions in New Missions," 20.

<sup>105</sup> Samantha Power. "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen." Atlantic Monthly, (September, 2001), 86-108.

Canadian Broadcast Company, after his retirement and ensuing personal struggles with severe posttraumatic stress disorder, General Dallaire wrote,

This nation [Canada], without any hesitation nor doubt, is capable and even expected by the less fortunate of this globe to lead the developed countries beyond self-interest, strategic advantages, and isolationism, and raise their sights to the realm of the pre-eminence of humanism and freedom ... Where humanitarianism is being destroyed and the innocent are being literally trampled into the ground ...the soldiers, sailors, and airpersons ... supported by fellow countrymen who recognize the cost in human sacrifice and in resources will forge in concert with our politicians ... a most unique and exemplary place for Canada in the league of nations, united under the United Nations Charter.<sup>106</sup>

As national leaders commit the Army to conduct more combat missions, the publicly stated post-conflict goals will always follow the rhetoric of "peace" and "stability." Unless the military creates an environment of and includes training in the stories of peace operations, the courage, heroism and sacrifice of combat will be short-lived, necessitating the continual need to conduct wars. Hence, military officers and soldiers will require training and education in order to align their actions with the institution's stated values as contextualized in narrative accounts. For "a man of character in peace is a man of

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<sup>106</sup> General Romeo Dallaire, retired. "Letter to the Canadian Broadcast Company, 3 July 2000" as recorded by Samantha Powers, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen." Atlantic Monthly, (September 2001), 108.

courage in war. As Aristotle taught, character is a habit, the daily choice of right and wrong. It is a moral quality that grows to maturity in peace and is not suddenly developed in war."<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> James Glover. "The Soldier and His Conscience." The Parameters of Military Ethics. Lloyd J. Matthews and Dale E. Brown, editors. (McLean, VA: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers, Inc., 1989), 150.

## CHAPTER 6

## CONCLUSION

The United States Army understands the need for education and training in the areas of values. Its adoption of a modified virtue ethic focused in character development is a step in the right direction. Due to the complex nature of modern warfare and the complex "new operating environment," a soldier's ethical capabilities must be honed and trained just as his or her combat reactions need to be trained in order to be habitual and instinctive. In light of the history and development of values training in the Army since Vietnam, this paper will make five recommendations.

First, the failure of the current educational and training program is its limited focus to the indoctrination phase of the soldier's training.<sup>108</sup> Due to the increased

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<sup>108</sup> The author agrees with Charles W. Hudlin's assessment that even with the intentional program of ethics and values training provided at both the officer and enlisted levels, there is still insufficient attention given to this vital area. In 1987, Hudlin cited Thomas Likona, "if the movement to teach ethics is serious about developing not only the capacity to think ethically but also the commitment to act ethically, then it will have to find ways to fire the will as well as the intellect, to engage the heart as deeply as the mind, and to put will, intellect, and feeling to the test of behavior. Armchairing alone won't do the job. Engaging and developing the whole person is

operational tempo and manpower limitations, the necessary continuing education to maintain one's ability to make the ethical decisions based on the Seven Army Values is neglected in favor of soldier survival skills. Ethical training in the Aristotelian sense is a commitment to the concept of *habitus*, "an educative and moral process." To cite Toner again, *habitus* refers to "dispositions, not regimental habits; these dispositions, or moral arrangements, are developed over time as a result of contemplation."<sup>109</sup> Such dispositions are not the result of even the best-intentioned initial training programs, but require a time-intensive commitment.

However, in light of the complex and highly visible nature of modern peace and combat operations due to national and international media, commanders need to plan and incorporate values education into the soldiers' training. Ethics and values education consists of more than learning the Rules of Engagement (ROE) and then carrying them in one's helmet or pocket during operations. The lethality of modern firepower and the likelihood of decentralized command and control push decision-making down

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unquestionably a tall order." Charles Hudlin. "Morality in the Military Profession," *Military Ethics*, (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1982), 92-93.

<sup>109</sup> Toner, 120.

to lower levels than ever before. Military operations cannot afford lapses of ethical judgment.

Second, the Army's history is rich with stories of loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity and personal courage that are outside war or direct combat situations. But the stories included in the current values education curriculum are predominantly combat-related or fictitious case studies that call for discussion.

As this paper has shown, the majority of missions in which today's soldier is likely to participate will fall outside of direct combat. As Volker Franke's research indicates (and from my personal ministry experience as an Army chaplain), soldiers do experience identity crisis and conflict. The impact of that crisis risks mission accomplishment and in the military, those are often life and death situations of combatants as well as civilian non-combatants. The issue of job satisfaction can only be secondary when one holds to a value of "selfless service." Soldiers should not be trained and indoctrinated in narratives in which the only truly successful military experience is related to war fighting. Such a story would not be true to history nor to the reality of a normative military career.

The Army stories include the construction of the Panama Canal, the eradication of malaria in Central America, the successful occupation and reconstruction of post World War II Germany and Japan, the defense and economic success of South Korea and the current Balkan peacekeeping operations. These peace operations stories should be incorporated into the values formation of the next generation of soldiers. If the Army's first mission is deterrence and the maintenance of "peace,"<sup>110</sup> or the establishment of a peaceful settlement, then virtuous actions in peace needs to be institutionalized and remembered through story.<sup>111</sup> Franke suggests that the "identity images of warrior and peacekeeper may help to avoid identity tensions ... individual soldiers and officers who view war fighting and peacekeeping as equally important to their central identity images will more easily be able to switch among mission requirements without jeopardizing their self-conceptions or mission accomplishment."<sup>112</sup>

Third, the Army should review the emphasis in its policies on awards and decorations. Current military

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<sup>110</sup> General Eric K. Shinseki. "The Chief of Staff of the Army's Vision." United States Army official website, [www.us.army.mil/csa/vision/html](http://www.us.army.mil/csa/vision/html).

<sup>111</sup> Recent political debates and current administration policies seem to indicate a return to restricting the use of the military to "combat operations" rather than "deterrence" and "peacekeeping." See the *National Security Strategy*, September 2001.

<sup>112</sup> Franke, "The Social Identity of Peacekeeping," 18.



culture places a higher value on the "combat" badges rather than those acquired during peacetime or during peacekeeping operations. Reports and anecdotes are common of commanders and soldiers who are not deployed in support of Operation Enduring Freedom who visit soldiers and/or send their junior staff officers and NCOs to qualify for enough time to wear the unit patch on the right sleeve - a perceived discriminator for promotion and career advancement.

There is a need to review current policies that allow for the wearing of a right shoulder patch (a symbol of serving in a combat deployment), even in support of nationally directed strategic operations, such as peacekeeping in the Balkans. Perhaps it is also necessary to review criteria for awards that emphasize moral courage as well as physical courage. FM 1 *The Army* and General Eric Shinseki's vision statement clearly state that the Army's mission of priority is to secure the peace and only as necessary to conduct combat operations.<sup>113</sup> The Army as an institution must capture that vision so that the higher value and role of peace over war is placed in the minds of soldiers and leaders.

Fourth, values inculcation and training needs to include historical negative examples and how the system has

valued dissent and corrected itself. It is laudable that the Army includes the story of helicopter pilot WO1 Hugh Thompson's courageous command to his gunner to shoot American soldiers if they harmed civilians at My Lai. The Army has shown an incredible transparency for a government agency to publicly deal with its failures. The Peers Inquiry and the Aberdeen sexual harassment scandals are examples of the institutional efforts toward revising and refining virtue ethics for soldiers.

Fifth, current educational materials have effectively neutralized the role that religion has had in the history and development of values and ethics. As part of a truthful education rather than neutralize values, the Army should take the lead to incorporate how religions have historically influenced ethics and values, providing another frame of reference for soldiers. A pluralistic culture, environment and community such as the Army does not require that ethics be taught by ignoring the influence and power of religions and faiths for ethics and values. The values training should reflect accurately the teachings of the faith groups of America's citizen-soldiers rather than ignore their existence.

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<sup>113</sup> FM 1. *The Army*, chapter 4.

Army values are not Christian values, although they may have been shaped to a degree by Christian values. They are the values of a different community. That community finds its purposes defined in this nation's historical documents and laws.<sup>114</sup> Citing official documents again, "The Army will remain a values-centered, doctrine-based profession of Soldiers, rooted in the fundamental principles cherished by all free people and manifested in the values of our Constitution."<sup>115</sup>

The Army is a community of friends. It has its own history, symbolism, rites and rituals, to which all current and future volunteers are expected to subscribe and follow. Narrative supporting the Army values in peacekeeping adds another dimension and context - one that is needed psychologically by the soldiers, politically by the government and thematically by the stated Army doctrine.

It is also consistent with the deepest aspirations of humanity. Saint Augustine wrote, "For peace is so great a good that, even in the sphere of earthly and mortal affairs, we hear no word more thankfully, and nothing is

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<sup>114</sup> Anthony E. Hartle. "A Military Ethic in an Age of Terror." The Parameters of Military Ethics. (Washington, D.C.: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers Inc., 1989), 137.

<sup>115</sup> FM 1 *The Army*, chapter 4.

desired with greater longing: in short, it is not possible to find anything better."<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> From Book XIX, chapter 11. Augustine. The City of God Against the Pagans, edited by R. W. Dyson. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, reprint 2001), 933.

## Appendix A

### General MacArthur's Thayer Award Speech

Duty, Honor, Country (1962)

No human being could fail to be deeply moved by such a tribute as this [Thayer Award]. Coming from a profession I have served so long and a people I have loved so well, it fills me with an emotion I cannot express. But this award is not intended primarily to honor a personality, but to symbolize a great moral code - a code of conduct and chivalry of those who guard this beloved land of culture and ancient descent. For all hours and for all time, it is an expression of the ethics of the American soldier. That I should be integrated in this way with so noble an ideal arouses a sense of pride, and yet of humility, which will be with me always.

Duty, honor, country: Those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you ought to be, what you can be, what you will be. They are your rallying point to build courage when courage seems to fail, to regain faith when there seems to be little cause for faith, to create hope when hope becomes forlorn.

Unhappily, I possess neither that eloquence of diction, that poetry of imagination, nor that brilliance of metaphor to tell you all that they mean.

The unbelievers will say they are but words, but a slogan, but a flamboyant phrase. Every pedant, every demagogue, every cynic, every hypocrite, every troublemaker, and, I am sorry to say, some others of an entirely different character, will try to downgrade them even to the extent of mockery and ridicule.

But these are some of the things they do. They build your basic character. They mold you for your future roles as the custodians of the Nation's defense. They make you strong enough to know when you are weak, and brave enough to face yourself when you are afraid.

**What the Words Teach**

They teach you to be proud and unbending in honest failure, but humble and gentle in success; not to substitute words for actions, not to seek the path of comfort, but to face the stress and spur of difficulty and challenge; to learn to stand up in the storm, but to have compassion on those who fall; to master yourself before you seek to master others; to have a heart that is clean, a goal that is high; to learn to laugh, yet never forget how to weep; to reach into the future, yet never neglect the past; to be serious, yet never to take yourself too seriously; to be modest so that you will remember the simplicity of true greatness, the open mind of true wisdom, the meekness of true strength.

They give you a temperate will, a quality of the imagination, a vigor of the emotions, a freshness of the deep springs of life, a temperamental predominance of courage over timidity, of an appetite for adventure over love of ease.

They create in your heart the sense of wonder, the unfailing hope of what next, and joy and inspiration of life. They teach you in this way to be an officer and a gentleman.

And what sort of soldiers are those you are to lead? Are they reliable? Are they brave? Are they capable of victory?

Their story is known to all of you. It is the story of the American man-at-arms. My estimate of him was formed on the battlefield many, many years ago, and has never changed. I regarded him then, as I regard him now, as one of the world's noblest figures; not only as one of the finest military characters, but also as one of the most stainless.

His name and fame are the birthright of every American citizen. In his youth and strength, his love and loyalty, he gave all that mortality can give. He needs no eulogy from me; or from any other man. He has written his own history and written it in red on his enemy's breast.

But when I think of his patience in adversity of his courage under fire and of his modesty in victory, I am filled with an emotion of admiration I cannot put into words. He belongs to history as furnishing one of the greatest examples of successful patriotism. He belongs to posterity as the instructor of future generations in the principles of liberty and freedom. He belongs to the present, to us, by his virtues and by his achievements.

### **Witness to the Fortitude**

In 20 campaigns, on a hundred battlefields, around a thousand campfires, I have witnessed that enduring fortitude, that patriotic self-abnegation, and that invincible determination which have carved his statue in the hearts of his people.

From one end of the world to the other, he has drained deep the chalice of courage. As I listened to those songs [of the glee club], in memory's eye I could see those staggering columns of the first World War, bending under soggy packs on many a weary march, from dripping dusk to drizzling dawn, slogging ankle deep through the mire of shell-pocked roads to form grimly for the attack, bullet-riddled, covered with sludge and mud, chilled by the wind and rain, driving home to their objective, and for many to the judgment seat of God.

I do not know the dignity of their birth, but I do know the glory of their death. They died, unquestioning, uncomplaining, with faith in their hearts, and on their lips the hope that we would go on to victory.

Always for them: Duty, honor, country. Always their blood, and sweat, and tears, as we sought the way and the light and the truth. And 20 years after, on the other side of the globe, again the filth of murky foxholes, the stench of ghostly trenches, the slime of dripping dugouts, those boiling suns of relentless heat, those torrential rains of devastating storms, the loneliness and utter desolation of jungle trails, the bitterness of long separation from those they loved and cherished, the deadly pestilence of tropical disease, the horror of stricken areas of war.

### **Swift and Sure Attack**

Their resolute and determined defense, their swift and sure attack, their indomitable purpose, their complete and decisive victory - always through the bloody haze of their last reverberating shot, the vision of gaunt, ghastly men, reverently following your password of duty, honor, country.

The code which those words perpetuate embraces the highest moral law and will stand the test of any ethics or philosophies ever promulgated for the things that are right

and its restraints are from the things that are wrong. The soldier, above all other men, is required to practice the greatest act of religious training--sacrifice. In battle, and in the face of danger and death, he discloses those divine attributes which his Maker gave when He created man in His own image. No physical courage and no greater strength can take the place of the divine help which alone can sustain him. However hard the incidents of war may be, the soldier who is called upon to offer and to give his life for his country is the noblest development of mankind.

You now face a new world, a world of change. The thrust into outer space of the satellite, spheres, and missiles marks a beginning of another epoch in the long story of mankind. In the five or more billions of years the scientists tell us it has taken to form the earth, in the three or more billion years of development of the human race, there has never been a more abrupt or staggering evolution.

We deal now, not with things of this world alone, but with the illimitable distances and as yet unfathomed mysteries of the universe. We are reaching out for a new and boundless frontier. We speak in strange terms of harnessing the cosmic energy, of making winds and tides work for us, of creating unheard of synthetic materials to supplement or even replace our old standard basics; to purify sea water for our drink; of mining ocean floors for new fields of wealth and food; of disease preventatives to expand life into the hundred of years; of controlling the weather for a more equitable distribution of heat and cold, of rain and shine; of spaceships to the moon; of the primary target in war, no longer limited to the armed forces of an enemy, but instead to include his civil populations; of ultimate conflict between a united human race and the sinister forces of some other planetary galaxy; of such dreams and fantasies as to make life the most exciting of all times.

And through all this welter of change and development your mission remains fixed, determined, inviolable. It is to win our wars. Everything else in your professional career is but corollary to this vital dedication. All other public purposes, all other public projects, all other public needs, great or small, will find others for their accomplishment; but you are the ones who are trained to fight.

**The Profession of Arms**



Yours is the profession of arms, the will to win, the sure knowledge that in war there is no substitute for victory, that if you lose, the Nation will be destroyed, that the very obsession of your public service must be duty, honor, country.

Others will debate the controversial issues, national and international, which divide men's minds. But serene, calm, aloof, you stand as the Nation's war guardian, as its lifeguard from the raging tides of international conflict, as its gladiator in the arena of battle. For a century and a half you have defended, guarded, and protected its hallowed traditions of liberty and freedom, of right and justice.

Let civilian voices argue the merits or demerits of our processes of government: Whether our strength is being sapped by deficit financing indulged in too long, by Federal paternalism grown too mighty, by power groups grown too arrogant, by politics grown too corrupt, by crime grown too rampant, by morals grown too low, by taxes grown too high, by extremists grown too violent; whether our personal liberties are as thorough and complete as they should be.

These great national problems are not for your professional participation or military solution. Your guidepost stands out like a ten-fold beacon in the night: Duty, honor, country.

You are the leaven which binds together the entire fabric of our national system of defense. From your ranks come the great captains who hold the Nation's destiny in their hands the moment the war tocsin sounds.

The long, gray line has never failed us. Were you to do so, a million ghosts in olive drab, in brown khaki, in blue and gray, would rise from their white crosses, thundering those magic words: Duty, honor, country.

### **Prays for Peace**

This does not mean that you are warmongers. On the contrary, the soldier above all other people prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war. But always in our ears ring the ominous words of Plato, that wisest of all philosophers: "Only the dead have seen the end of war."

The shadows are lengthening for me. The twilight is here. My days of old have vanished--tone and tint. They have gone glimmering through the dreams of things that were. Their memory is one of wondrous beauty, watered by tears and coaxed and caressed by the smiles of yesterday. I listen vainly, but with thirsty ear, for the witching melody of faint bugles blowing reveille, of far drums beating the long roll.

In my dreams I hear again the crash of guns, the rattle of musketry, the strange, mournful mutter of the battlefield. But in the evening of my memory always I come back to West Point. Always there echoes and re-echoes: Duty, honor, country.

Today marks my final roll call with you. But I want you to know that when I cross the river, my last conscious thoughts will be of the corps, and the corps, and the corps.

I bid you farewell.

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The text of this speech is reproduced from Department of Defense Pamphlet GEN-1A, US Government Printing Office, 1964.

## Appendix B

Excerpt from the Peers Inquiry:

The Letter from Mr. Ron Ridenour Letter  
to the Secretary of Defense  
29 March 1969

Exactly what did, in fact, occur in the village of "Pinkville" [soldiers' derogatory term for Song My, i.e., My Lai] in March, 1968 I do not know for certain, but I am convinced that it was something very black indeed. I remain irrevocably persuaded that if you and I do truly believe in the principles of justice and the equality of every man, however humble, before the law, that form the very backbone that this country is founded on, then we must press forward a widespread and public investigation of this matter with all our combined efforts. I think that it was Winston Churchill who once said, "A country without a conscience is a country without a soul, and a country without a soul is a country that cannot survive." I feel that I must take some positive action on this matter. I hope that you will launch an investigation immediately and keep me informed of your progress. If you cannot, then I don't know what other course of action to take.

I have considered sending this to newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting companies, but I somehow feel that investigation and action by the Congress of the United States is the appropriate procedure, and as a conscientious citizen I have no desire to further besmirch the image of the American serviceman in the eyes of the world. I feel that this action, while probably it would promote attention, would not bring about the constructive actions that the direct actions of the Congress of the United States would.

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